

Message Text

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-----020579 221544Z /53,
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FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
TO WHITE HOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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WHITE HOUSE FOR JAMES FALLOWS

E.O.: 11652: N/A
TAGS: PPDC
SUBJ: DRAFT JULY 4 SPEECH FOR PRESIDENT CARTER

1. DR HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, WHO HAS BEEN RESIDING TEMPORARILY IN COPENHAGEN AND TAKING ENGAGEMENTS AS A USICA VOLUNTARY SPEAKER, VXCAME TO THE EMBASSY TODAY WITH THE DRAFT SPEECH SET OUT BELOW. DR. COMMAGER SAID THAT HE WAS TELEPHONED HERE LAST MONDAY, JUNE 19, BY MR. FALLOWS FROM THE WHITE HOUSE WHO ASKED DR. COMMAGER TO DRAFT REMARKS FOR POSSIBLE USE BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE OCCASION OF THE FOURTH OF JULY, AND TO TRANSMIT TO THE WHITE HOUSE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

UNION, LIBERTY, EQUALITY, DEMOCRACY: THESE ARE THE FOUR GREAT THEMES OF OUR HISTORY. ALL FOUR OF THEM ARE SET FORTH IN THAT HISTORICAL DECLARATION WHICH WE CELEBRATE TODAY: UNION IN THE VERY ACT OF INDEPENDENCE AS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DISSOLVED THEIR TIES WITH BRITAIN AND "ASSUMED A STATION AMONG THE POWERS OF THE EARTH"; LIBERTY IN THE RINGING ASSERTION THAT ALL MEN ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH AN UNALIENABLE RIGHT TO LIFE AND LIBERTY; EQUALITY
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IN THE MOST MEMORABLE OF ALL PHRASES, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL; AND DEMOCRACY IN THE BOLD ASSERTION THAT ALL GOVERNMENTS DERIVE THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED.

THESE FOUR PRINCIPLES HAVE PRESIDED OVER OUR DESTINIES AS A NATION FOR MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED YEARS AND ARE AS VITAL TODAY AS; WHEN JEFFERSON AND HIS ASSOCIATES FIRST PROCLAIMED THEM. THEY

ARE ROOTED IN A COMMON PHILOSOPHY, THEY ARE INEXTRICABLY INTER-TWINED IN OUR MINDS AND OUR HEARTS, AND THEY FORM A HARMONIOUS PATTERN OF POLITICS AND OF LIFE.

THE FOUNDING FATHERS ASSUMED THAT THESE PRINCIPLES WERE "SELF-EVIDENT TRUTHS", BUT THEY WERE NOT TO NAIVE AS TO SUPPOSE THAT THEY WERE SELF-FULFILLING TRUTHS. THEY HAD BEEN BORN OUT OF STRUGGLE, AND SUCCESSIVE GENERATIONS HAD STRUGGLED TO REALIZE THEM AND TO VINDICATE THEM. NOR IS THAT STRUGGLE EVER ENDED, FOR EACH NEW GENERATION FINDS NEW MEANINGS AND NEW CHALLENGES IN THESE GREAT CONCEPTS OF UNION, LIBERTY, EQUALITY AND DEMOCRACY.

THE FIRST OF THESE PRINCIPLES IN UNION, FOR WITHOUT UNION THE OTHERS COULD NOT BE FULFILLED. IT WAS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, NOT YET UNITED, WHO FOUGHT FOR SEVEN YEARS TO WIN INDEPENDENCE; IT WAS THAT SAME PEOPLE, NOW UNITED, WHO FRAMED A CONSTITUTION DESIGNED TO MAKE "A MORE PERFECT UNION" AND WHO THEN, IN LINCOLN'S MEMORABLE PHRASE, BROUGHT FORTH A NEW NATION. THAT PROCESS WAS NOT COMPLETED WITH THE INAUGURATION OF WASHINGTON IN 1789; IT HAS GONE ON AND ON AS THE NATION SPREAD FROM THE ALLEGHENIES TO THE PACIFIC, AND BEYOND, AND AS TENS OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE FROM EVERY NATION AND RACE POURED INTO THE PROMISED LAND, ADDING THEIR OWN HERITAGE TO THE AMERICAN HERITAGE, ENRICHING THE AMERICAN CHARACTER, AND BEING, IN TURN, TRANSFORMED BY IT FOR EVEN AS OUR FOREFATHERS WERE FIGHTING FOR INDEPENDENCE, AN OBSERVER CALLED THE NATION A "MELTING POT", AND THAT IS WHAT IT CAME TO BE.

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FOR NOTWITHSTANDING THE GREAT MIXTURE OF PEOPLES AND RACES, IT WAS UNITY THAT EMERGED: IT IS PROPER TO REMEMBER THAT IT WAS THE MOST HETEROGENEOUS SECTION OF THE NATION WHICH FOUGHT FOR, AND VINDICATED, UNION IN THE GREAT CONTEST OF THE LAST CENTURY.

UNITY WAS IN PART A PRODUCT OF THE MOST AUSPICIOUS ENVIRONMENT MANKIND HAS EVER KNOWN, BUT IT WAS, TOO, A PRODUCT OF THE PHILOSOPHY WHICH PRESIDED OVER ITS CREATION. AS TOM PAINE SAID, THE AMERICAN WAS A NEW ADAM IN A NEW PARADISE, AND IT WAS GIVEN HIM TO START THE WORLD ANEW.

BUT UNION WAS NOT JUST AN END IN ITSELF; IT WAS, AND REMAINS, THE ESSENTIAL MEANS TO LARGER ENDS. FROM THE BEGINNING THE NATION WAS DESIGNED TO BE--IN WORDS A PHRASE THAT RECURS AGAIN AND AGAIN -- AN EMPIRE OF REASON. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY, MEN HAD BEEN ABLE QUITE DELIBERATELY TO CREATE A NATION; FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY, THOSE WHO MADE THE NATION DEDICATED IT, AT BIRTH, TO IDEALS WHICH WERE MORE THAN NATIONAL, WHICH WERE INDEED UNIVERSAL. FOR THESE OBJECTIVES EMBRACED NOT ONLY ESSENTIAL NATIONAL PURPOSES--"A MORE PERFECT UNION, THE COMMON DEFENSE, DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY", BUT UNIVERSAL IDEALS OF ESTABLISHING JUSTICE, PROMOTING THE GENERAL WELFARE, AND PRESERVING LIBERTY FOR POSTERITY.

THE ACHIEVE THESE LARGER ENDS, THE FATHERS CREATED A SPECIAL KIND OF NATION. IT WAS TO BE A NATION BASED ON THE RULE OF LAW, COMMITTED TO LIBERTY UNDER LAW, DEDICATED TO EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW AND (EVENTUALLY) TO EQUALITY IN EVERY AREA OF LIFE; AND DESIGNED TO PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE--WHICH IS PRETTY MUCH WHAT JEFFERSON BY THE PHRASE "THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS". (NO OTHER NATION EVERY WROTE "HAPPINESS" INTO ITS CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS, BUT A GUARANTEE OF THE RIGHT TO PERSUE AND OBTAIN HAPPINESS CAN BE FOUND IN OVER HALF THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE AMERICAN STATES.) HAPPINESS WAS TO BE FOUND IN FREEDOM AND ENLIGHTENMENT; IT WAS TO BE FOUND, TOO, IN A CLASSLESS SOCIETY WHICH AGREED SO INSTINCTIVELY ON FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES THAT IT COULD BE FREE OF THOSE FANATICAL HOSTILITIES WHICH AFFLICTED SO MANY OLD WORLD SOCIETIES. THIS WAS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WHAT JEFFERSON HAD IN MIND WHEN, IN HIS FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS,

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WHITE HOUSE FOR JAMES FALLOWS

HE APPEALED FOR "THAT HARMONY AND AFFECTION, WITHOUT WHICH, LIBERTY, AND EVEN LIFE ITSELF, ARE BUT DREARY THINGS"....FREEDOM, EQUALITY, A CLASSLESS SOCIETY, WERE NOT ACHIEVED ALL AT ONCE. IT TOOK A GREAT WAR TO FREE THE SLAVES; IT TOOK ANOTHER CENTURY TO ACHIEVE EQUALITY -- EVEN THAT HAS NOT YET BEEN WHOLLY ACHIEVED BUT THESE GOALS ARE AT LAST IN SIGHT.

THE MEN WHO WROTE THOSE GREAT CHARTERS OF UNION, THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, AND THE CONSTITUTION, DESIGNED, TOO, THE MOTTOES OF THE GREAT SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES, (YOU CAN FIND ALL OF THEM ON YOUR DOLLAR BILLS) AND WE MUST STAND AMAZED AT THE ALMOST PROPHETIC VISION WHICH INSPIRED THEIR CHOICES. CERTAINLY THAT TURNED OUT TO BE TRUE OF THE FIRST OF THEM, E PLURIBUS UNIM (ONE OUT OF MANY)--A TRIBUTE TO THAT PRINCIPLE WHICH PRESIDED OVER THE NATION AT ITS BIRTH, WHICH ANIMATED MOST OF THE GREAT STATESMEN OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC--WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON AND JACKSON, JOHN MARSHALL AND JOSEPH STORY AND DANIEL WEBSTER, WHICH INSPIRED LINCOLN TO SAVE THE UNION, AND WHICH GUIDED FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT IN RESTORING A SENSE OF UNITY AND OF HOPE TO A STRICKEN NATION.

THE SECOND MOTTO WAS EQUALLY APPROPRIATE: NOVUS ORDO SECLORUM - A NEW ORDER OF THE AGES. FOR THAT IS WHAT THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE FIRST MOTTO WAS, WHAT THE AMERICAN EXPERIMENT PROVED TO BE---NEW IN ITS REPUBLICANISM, IN ITS DEMOCRACY, IN THAT LIBERTY WHICH CONSISTED OF IMPOSING LIMITS ON GOVERNMENT (ON WHAT WALT WHITMAN WAS TO CALL THE UNENDING AUDACITY OF ELECTED MEN), IN ITS WIDESPREAD SOCIAL EQUALITY, IN ITS PROVISIONS FOR COMPLETE RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND FOR SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE AND IN THE SUBORDINATION OF THE MILITARY TO THE CIVIL AUTHORITY.

THE THIRD MOTTO WAS BOTH A PRAYER AND A PROPHECY: ANNUIT COEPTIS -- HEAVEN HAS FAVORED OUR ENTERPRISE. IT HAS INDEED MAY WE CONTINUE TO DESERVE THAT FAVOR.

WE SHOULD NOT DECEIVE OURSELVES, HOWEVER, THAT UNITY IS MERELY NATIONAL. NEITHER NATIONS NOR CIVILIZATIONS CAN SURVIVE AND FLOURISH IN ISOLATION. THE FOUNDING FATHERS, WHO IN A SENSE INVENTED MODERN NATIONALISM, KNEW THIS VERY WELL. AFTER ALL THEIR CAUSE HAD FOUND SUPPORT IN FRANCE AND HOLLAND AND SYMPATHY EVERYWHERE IN THE OLD WORLD---EVEN IN ENGLAND. THEY WERE THEMSELVES COSMOPOLITAN; THEY EMBRACED IN THEIR HOPES THE PEOPLES OF THE OLD WORLD AND OF THE NEW, TOO, AND THEY ASSOCIATED THEMSELVES WITH THE LIBERALS OF EVERY COUNTRY. IT WAS THE OPINION OF MANKIND THAT THEY INVOKE TO JUSTIFY THEIR REVOLUTION; IT WAS ALL MEN, NOT JUST AMERICANS, WHO WERE CREATED EQUAL AND WERE ENDOWED WITH UNALIENABLE RIGHTS. THE SAME JEFFERSON WHO PENNED THESE PHRASES, WROTE, TOO, THAT "WE ARE ACTING UNDER OBLIGATIONS NOT CONFINED TO OUR OWN SOCIETY. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE", HE ADDED, "NOT TO BE SENSIBLE THAT WE ARE ACTING FOR ALL MANKIND". AND HIS FRIEND AND ASSOCIATE, JOHN ADAMS ASSERTED THAT THE REVOLUTION WAS FOUGHT FOR "FUTURE MILLIONS, AND MILLIONS OF MILLIONS OF MANKIND". THE FOUNDING FATHERS DEDICATED THE NEW NATION TO POLICIES OF PEACE AND COOPERATION WITH OTHER NATIONS. WE SHOULD NOT FORGET THE SOLEMN ADMONITION WHICH WASHINGTON ADDRESSED TO POSTERITY IN HIS FARE-

WELL ADDRESS; THAT
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NOTHING IS MORE ESSENTIAL THAN THAT PERMANENT NATIONAL
ANTIPATHIES AGAINST PARTICULAR NATIONS SHOULD BE EXCLUDED,
AND THAT IN PLACE OF THEM JUST AND AMIABLE FEELINGS TOWARD
ALL SHOULD BE CULTIVATED" FOR, HE ADDED, "THE NATION WHICH
INDULGES TOWARDS ANOTHER AN HABITUAL HATRED, IS, IN SOME
RESPECTS, A SLAVE"

THE FORCES WHICH OPERATE ALMOST IRRESISTIBLE IN THE UNITED STATES
TO BRING ABOUT UNITY, OPERATE WITH NO LESS AUTHORITY THROUGHOUT
THE GLOBE. IN THE EYES OF THAT NATURE AND NATURE'S GOD WHICH
JEFFERSON INVOKED IN THE DECLARATION THE GLOBE IS A SINGLE UNIT.
ALL THE PROBLEMS WHICH GLARE UPON US CEASELESSLY FROM EVERY
QUARTER OF THE HORIZON ARE GLOBAL: NOT ONE CAN BE SOLVED BY A
SINGLE NATION: THE EXHAUSTION OF NATURAL RESOURCES WHICH THREATENS
TO OUTRUN THE CAPACITY OF THE EARTH TO SUPPORT IT: THE DESTRUC-
TION OF THE OCEANS: THE POLLUTION OF THE AIR AND THE WATERS AND OF
THE EARTH ITSELF: EPIDEMICS WHICH KNOW NO BOUNDARY LINES AN ARMS
RACE WHICH THREATENS THE ECONOMIC WELLBEING ALIKE OF GREAT NATIONS
AND OF SMALL, AND WHICH DISTRACTS THE PEOPLES OF THE GLOBE
FROM THOSE CONSTRUCTIVE ENTERPRISES ON WHICH PROGRESS AND EVEN
SALVATION DEPENDS: AND BROODING OVER ALL THIS IS THE THREAT OF AN
ATOMIC WAR WHICH IF IT COMES WILL SURELY END THAT CIVILIZATION
BUILT UP OVER CENTURIES AND MILLENIA. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HIS-
TORY MANKIND IS AN ENDANGERED SPECIES.

IF WE ARE TO SURVIVE AND EMERGE FROM THE BLACK CLOUDS WHICH HANG
OVER US INTO THE SUNSHINE OF HOPE AND PROGRESS WE NEED THE HELP
OF ALL THE NATIONS OF THE EARTH WHO ARE PREPARED TO WORK WITH US
IN THIS EXHILARATING TASK OF SAVING THE EARTH FOR POSTERITY AND
MAKING SURE THAT THERE WILL BE A POSTERITY. END TEXT.
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